

OUR DUTY

3

AS TAUGHT BY THE

AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF SLAVERY.

A DISCOURSE

PREACHED IN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, AKRON, O.,

ON THANKSGIVING DAY.

NOVEMBER 22ND, 1855.

BY NATHANIEL P. BAILEY.

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AKRON, OHIO.

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1855.

AKRON, O., Nov. 30th, 1855.

REV. NATH'L P. BAILEY:

DEAR SIR:—

We the undersigned, believing the discourse delivered by you in the Stone Church in Akron, on the 22nd inst., to be worthy of the great and good cause in which you and we have manifested much interest, and in which the Christian and Patriot everywhere should certainly sympathize; and also believing that its general circulation might do much in correcting, elevating and strengthening public sentiment in opposition to Slavery and its attendant evils, respectfully and earnestly request you to furnish us with a copy of said discourse for publication.

NATH'L W. GOODHUE,
A. D. LICEY,
J. P. SOUTHWORTH,
N. D. TIBBALS,

A. HIBBARD,
J. M. HALE,
F. McNAUGHTON,
D. C. CARR,
R. F. GIBSON.

C. B. BERNARD,
J. L. ROBERTSON,
S. A. LANE,
J. TEESDALE,

AKRON, O., DEC. 13th, 1855.

MESSRS. N. W. GOODHUE, A. D. LICEY, AND OTHERS:

GENTLEMEN:—

I have received your communication of the 30th ult., requesting for publication a copy of my discourse, delivered on Thanksgiving day, Nov. 22d. The hasty manner in which that discourse was prepared, and its manifest imperfectness of discussion and expression, plead most vigorously in opposition to your request. Yet, confiding in your judgment, that its publication may, in some humble measure serve further the cause of truth and humanity, I place it at your disposal.

Yours truly,

N. P. BAILEY.

DISCOURSE.

I CHRONICLES; 12: 32.—“Which were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do.”

By appointment of our State authorities we spend this day in expressions of thankfulness to Almighty God for the blessings He has given us the past year. These causes for thanksgiving are as numerous and varied as the good bestowed and the evils averted from us, as individuals, as families, as a community, as a State, and as a Nation.

Among these blessings may be designated the preservation of ourselves and of so many of the objects of our affection—the great abundance of all those things which are good for food, and pleasant to the eyes, and that minister so gratefully to all our physical necessities—our exemption from internal and external war—the deliverance of our own community and State in particular, and of so large a portion of our whole country, from the noisome pestilence, which walketh in darkness, and wasteth at noonday—the continuance of our State and National independence, and of all our educational, moral and religious privileges. In these things we have enough to awaken our profoundest gratitude, and to call forth our liveliest expressions of thankfulness to the Giver of such unmerited blessings. How appropriate then is the observance of such a day as this, in which we may call upon our souls and all that is within us, to bless the Lord for all his kindness.

But while we are thus surrounded with causes of thankfulness there is also in our times much to awaken solicitude and fear, lest by failing to understand the times, and to do our duty, and our whole duty, at the right time, and in the right manner, our thanksgiving be turned into mourning, and our exultation into bitter self-condemnation.

There can be but few among us who have so little understanding of the times, as not to be aware that there is abroad in our land, a principle, a power, a force, more ubiquitous, annoying and loathsome than the frogs of Egypt—more destructive to every plant and shrub of industry, intelligence, virtue, religion and freedom, than were the united plagues of the locusts and hail to the fields of Pharaoh, and which, unless speedily met and totally vanquished and *exterminated* from *all* our borders, will soon prove the Angel of Death to this first-born of Christian Republics. To prevent such a catastrophe, we, the people, must have understanding of the times, and *know* what we *ought* to do. It is not sufficient that we have a vague idea of a something that may be done, but our understanding should be clear and definite; it should coincide with the truth, it should teach us what is *right*, and therefore what *ought* to be done by us. Such were the men referred to in the text: “Of the children of Issachar, which were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do; the heads of them were two hundred, and all their brethren were at their commandment.”

This scrap of history carries us back to the turning point of an important political crisis among the Jews. The question, who should be king over all Israel? Whether David or some descendant of Saul, was about receiving its final answer. This had been a difficult question for them to determine. It had shaken the nation to its centre. For a time it produced alienations, strifes and open wars among the tribes, and it seemed as though they would separate and become perpetual enemies to each other. But at length the storm blew over and all were united more harmoniously and firmly than ever. But how was this accomplished? Not by compromises between right and wrong. Not by David and the lesser party yielding the contest to Ishbatheth and the more numerous party. David had been anointed king over Israel, by the direction of the Lord. Hence the throne, was his by right of Divine appointment. On this right he took his position, and there he remained immovable. By degrees the

leading men in the several tribes admitted his right and felt that all Israel *ought* therefore to submit to him; and at the end of seven and a half years from the death of Saul, this was fully accomplished, by the men of understanding bringing their several tribes over to the standard of David, which was the standard of truth and right, so far as their political duties were then concerned.

After what I have now said, you readily perceive that my intention is to consider the spirit of Slavery so far as to enable us to determine our duty in respect to it.

In accomplishing this object I shall have to do with facts, and not with theories. The spirit of slavery shall be fairly determined by its fruits. Nor are these fruits few or of a doubtful character. They form a large part of the history of our Republic, and the language of condemnation, which they speak, may well make the stoutest heart quake with fear, lest we become food for the retributive justice of a righteous God. The drowning of the old world; the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, the overthrow and utter destruction of all the renowned governments of antiquity teach us that there is a point beyond which even national wickedness may not pass without incurring the avenging wrath of Him whose kingdom ruleth over all. That we have not already reached this fearful point we owe no thanks to the spirit of Slavery. For it is analytically and synthetically abstractly and concretely hostile to all and every element of freedom. But that I may not so much as seem to offend against the truth, or give too black a character even to that which is "the cum of all villainies," we will trace its course of aggression from the commencement of our government to the present time; and in these foot-prints of slavery, deepening in their crimson hue as we proceed, enough will be found if I mistake not, to justify the severest things that have ever been spoken against it.

Transporting ourselves back to the birth-day of our national freedom, we find that the very first step, thereafter taken by slavery, was planted amid the ruins of the rising hopes and joys of

a large portion of the inhabitants of those new born States. For even then it persisted in its course of depriving men of their dearest rights, and justified itself by practically denying the self-evident truths of our Declaration, to which it had given a verbal assent.

For example. "We hold these truths to be self-evident that *all* men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that whenever *any* form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the *right* of the people to alter or abolish it; that when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under *absolute despotism*, it is their *right*, it is their *DUTY* to throw off such government."

Now here are five self-evident truths uttered by our Declaration; truths applicable to all men, of all colors, in all parts of the world, and under any and every form of government. Yet every one of these truths is flatly denied and trampled upon by the spirit of Slavery. It does not admit that all men are created equal or that all are endowed by their Creator with certain *unalienable* rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. On the contrary, it to-day takes three millions of our own countrymen, denies them any measure of equality, deprives them of every one of these God-given rights, refuses their claim to the least shadow of manhood, and reduces them to the condition of brute beasts. Nor does it admit the right of the people to alter, abolish or even "to throw off" any form of government when it becomes destructive of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. On the contrary it uses all its power and malignity to prevent its victims from escaping its grasp. If in the exercise of his "right" and "duty," a slave attempts "to throw off" the government of his oppressor by quietly fleeing from him, he is pursued with hound and gun, and if he is found on slave territory, and refuses to return to his bondage of "absolute despotism," he is shot down with as little compunction as

if he had been a wild beast. To prevent their escape, slavery justifies the most cruel punishments, adopts oppressive police regulations, passes fugitive slave bills, and endeavors to convert the people of the free States into slave catchers. The same persistent spirit of wrong doing and oppression which our Declaration brings as so serious a charge against the government of England, is a thousand fold more applicable to the governments of slavery found in this union. Every self-evident reason which our fathers assigned as a justification for their "throwing off" the government of England, is in full force now to justify the slave in throwing off the yoke of his oppressor by immediate flight. And yet he is denied this right.

Starting with this practical denial of self-evident truths, we are not surprised to find it in the next step, trampling upon the Constitution of the United States to which it plighted its faith and adhesion.

That document says (Art. 4., Sec. 2.) "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. But in respect to colored people this plain constitutional provision is violated by Slavery. No matter how many, or how worthy colored citizens, Ohio may have, not one of them can enter South Carolina and enjoy the benefits of this provision of the Constitution. For that State has a law.. prohibiting under severe penalties, the entrance into the State of any free negro or person of color, on board any vessel, as mariner, steward, or in any capacity whatever. And there are similar laws in the other Slave States. They all deprive the free colored citizen of his constitutional rights. And so determined are they in continuing this great wrong, that when a sister-State sends one of her most worthy white citizens to test the validity of such a law, by an appeal to the courts, he is mobbed by the mock chivalry of Slavery, and driven from the State.

Again: The Constitution says (Art. 1., Sec. 9.) "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Con-

gress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

Here is the Constitutional power clearly acknowledged by virtue of which Congress was to prevent the further extension of Slavery, and ensure its final termination in all the States. This section recognizes the power of Congress to prohibit the importation of Slaves into any of the States or Territories; to prohibit the migration of Slaves from one slave State to another, or from the slave States to the Territories.

Now had Congress exercised this power, not a slave State could ever have been formed after the adoption of the Constitution; and we should never have heard of that modern hot-bed of iniquity, the domestic slave trade.

Nay, we may safely conclude, that if this power had been wisely and faithfully used from the first, there would not now be a slave in all our land. That Congress has this power is evident. Else why so careful to insert in the Constitution this exemption from such legislation in favor of the then existing States until the year 1808 ?

And that this is is not a recent or forced construction, I cite as authority John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, appointed by Washington, Sept. 26th 1789. He must be presumed to understand correctly this clause of the Constitution, both from his eminent legal talent, and from the fact that he was a compatriot of those who formed the Constitution, and must have known what they intended by it. He says: "I concur in the opinion that it (slavery) ought not to be introduced, nor permitted in *any* of the *new States*, and that it ought to be gradually diminished, and finally abolished in all of them. To me the Constitutional authority of Congress to prohibit the migration or importation of Slaves into *any* of the States, does not appear questionable." He then quotes that section of the Constitution which I have already read, and adds: "I understand the sense and meaning of this

clause to be—that the power of Congress although competent to prohibit such migration and importation, was not to be exercised with respect to the *then* existing States (and them only) until the year 1808; but that Congress were at liberty to make such prohibition, as to any *new States*, which might, in the *mean-time*, be established; and further, that from and after *that* period [1808,] they were *authorized* to make such prohibition as to all the States, whether new or old.”

It is “unquestionable,” therefore, according to the opinion of this first and highest judicial officer of the United States, that the Constitution gives Congress such power of prohibition. And the truth of this opinion is confirmed by the fact that the “importation” of Slaves has been prohibited by the Congress. But this power in its application to the “migration” of slaves has never been exercised. Why? Because of the persistency with which slavery has migrated from one State to another, and from the States to the territories, from the very beginning of the republic. That period of respite between 1789 and 1808, gave it a foot-hold that it has never relinquished. The traffic in slaves between the slave States was soon seen to be absolutely necessary to the continuance of slavery after the importation of slaves was prohibited. Hence slaves were carried from State to State, and from States to Territories, not only up to the year 1808, but after that period. And the same has been continued to the present time; and now this traffic has become a source of such immense revenue to some of the States, that they not only continue to set at naught this provision of the Constitution, but even go so far as to deny to Congress the authority to prohibit it; or to legislate upon the subject of slavery in any wise, except for its protection and perpetuity.

Again: The Constitution says, (Amendment 5th,) “That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” Yet this provision is constantly violated in the case of fugitive Slaves, and in the case of *any* person, white or black, however free, who may be *claimed* as a slave. To dignify

the proceedings under the fugitive slave bill by the phrase "due process of law," is to insult the honesty of the framers of the Constitution, and outrage the plain import of our mother tongue.

So in amendment 7th, the Constitution says, "In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

According to this, if a slaveholder—comes and demands of you twenty-five dollars, he cannot recover it by suit at law, without the intervention of a jury. But if he claims *you, yourself*, as his *slave*, he may take you without any jury trial, according to the present Congressional method of kidnapping.

In these and all other points bearing at all upon the question of slavery, the just and sacred inculcations of our Constitution are stifled, perverted and made to yield to its arrogant claims; claims that become more bold and insulting with every new concession to its lust.

Between the adoption of the Constitution and the year 1820, there were added to the Union four new Slave States, formed from territory ceded to the United States, by Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. These new States were Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama.

During the same period, the vast Territory of Louisiana had been ceded by France to the United States. This Territory embraced what is now known as the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa, and the Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota. This immense area is nearly eighty thousand square miles larger than all that constituted the United States at the end of the war in 1783. It equals 899,579 square miles, sufficient to make twenty-two States the size of Ohio. Spain had also ceded Florida to the Union; an area large enough to make two States the size of Indiana, or eight States larger than Massachusetts.

In both these territories there were already numerous Slaves; and from the former Louisiana had been admitted to the Union as a slave State. Thus had Slavery absorbed all the Southern

territory formerly belonging to the slave States, and a large portion of that which had been recently acquired by the general government.

And now Missouri, another portion of this same territory ceded by France, wishes to become a member of the Union; and the spirit of Slavery is determined it shall come in as a slave State. But the eyes of the people begin to open. The Free States have some faint realization of the grasping and insatiable nature of slavery, and they make a stand against the admission of any more slave States. The battle is long and fierce.

In the Senate, Mr. Roberts from Pennsylvania introduces into the Bill for the admission of Missouri, an amendment prohibiting Slavery in the new States, which is rejected by a vote of 27 to 16. The bill is passed and sent to the House of Representatives, and there Mr. Taylor, from New York, introduces into it a similar restriction which is agreed to, by a majority of 18. Thus amended the bill is returned to the Senate; but they again reject the prohibitory clause. Thus disagreeing, a committee of conference is appointed by the two Houses, of which committee, Henry Clay, the great father and patron of compromises with slavery is a member. This committee report a compromise, even the far-famed "Missouri Compromise." They recommend the two Houses to strike out of the bill the restriction on Missouri, and to insert a clause prohibiting Slavery in all territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ min., except within the proposed limits of Missouri. The same day that this Committee reported, the House acted upon their report. The prohibitory clause introduced in the bill by Mr. Taylor, and which was adopted by a majority of 18, is now stricken out by a vote of 90 to 87; and the recommended restriction upon all territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ min., excepting Missouri, is carried by a vote of 134 to 42. The restriction was thus lost by the small majority of three. Every Representative present from the Slave States voted against it. They presented an unbroken front, just as they have always done when Slavery was to be propagated. Sixteen of the Representatives from the

Free States also voted against the restriction. Seven members were absent; two from the Slave, and five from the Free States. Had these been present, the two former would have voted against, and the five latter for the restriction, which would have given a tie vote 92 to 92. But if, when that vote was taken, all the members of the House had been in their seats, and those from the Free States had been as united and determined as were those from the Slave States, the vote would have been 108 for retaining the prohibitory clause of Mr. Taylor, and 76 against it; and then the country would have been saved from the further spread of Slavery, as well as from the disgrace and mortification of making a compromise with a principle that denies self-evident truths, that tramples at will upon the Constitution, and that never hesitates to repudiate its own most solemn compacts, whenever they stand in the way of its lust for power. If those friends of freedom had then and there done their duty, Missouri, Arkansas and Florida, would have come into the Union Free States; and the cause of strife between the north and south would have been settled forever. But some of those friends of freedom were not true to their trust, they go over to the enemy, and by their aid slavery obtains the victory over freedom, not only in respect to Missouri, but also in respect to other and vaster territory.—For she now claims that by virtue of this compromise all the territory south of thirty-six deg. thirty min. is hers to use for slavery,—consequently Arkansas and Florida are converted into Slave States and added to the Union.

But not satisfied with this she enters Mexico, stirs up strife and war, wrests Texas from her, converts it into a Slave State, and there lets it remain, a lone star upon the Gulf, until the times are fully ripe for another slice. She then proposes that Texas be admitted into the Union, as a Slave State of course, and with the privilege of being cut up into five States, whenever the interests of slavery in the management of the general government shall seem to render the increase of United States Senators necessary. By this move she well knew she would

involve the States in a war with Mexico, and, on the principle that "might makes right," she could take as much more territory as she pleased. The game was played, the prize was won, and slavery pocketed the proceeds without so much as saying to the free States, "by your leave."

Elated with the victory, she becomes more impudent than ever. Having succeeded so well in bringing into the Union Slave States, she is now inclined to try her skill in keeping out free States. Accordingly when California asks admission as a free State, slavery says, "No, a large portion of your territory lies south of 36 deg. 30 min., and therefore belongs to me by virtue of the Compromise of 1820." But California and the free States insist. Whereupon slavery determines to take vengeance by demanding a law to compel the people of the free States to run to and fro with "alacrity," and catch and return all fugitive slaves found residing among them, or fleeing across their soil to Canada. This produces another Congressional war. The Union is again in awful danger! and once more Mr. Clay is summoned to the rescue. He collects these repellent elements, compounds another Compromise, loads his "Omnibus," mounts Mr. Webster on the box, gives him the reins and whip, and with Mr. Fillmore by his side, to hold up the brakes, away he drives through both Houses of Congress. Would he had been like that other Daniel, ready to beard the lion in his den ere he consented to aid and abet in so disgraceful and wicked a compromise with Slavery. But the Union is saved! and Slavery has gained a new and a most startling victory. For she has, by this one stroke, done more towards debauching the public conscience, and preparing the way for introducing slavery even into the free States, than she has done by all her previous efforts. For she has now arrayed the intelligence, the humanity, and the religious conscience of the free States, against an act of Congress and against the courts of the United States. In such a conflict the work of corruption is rapid and fearful in its consequences. Soon after the passage of that bill, how like a pestilence

did the "lower law" doctrine sweep over the land, poisoning legislators, judges and preachers of the Gospel. The seeds of corruption then sown have already borne some bitter fruit; but the harvest, I fear, has not yet come. And such a harvest! How shall our liberties abide the day of its coming? O thou "sun of Righteousness," arise with healing in thy wings! Pour upon us such a flood of light and truth and love, as shall work our entire deliverance from these threatened evils, by scorching and withering these plants of error as fast as they spring up.

But we have not yet reached the end. Slavery's cup of iniquity is not yet full. Having appropriated to herself all that territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., at the time the compromise of 1820, was made, she now demands the repeal of that prohibition, that she may cross over and possess all she pleases north of that line. Her plighted faith is no better than a rope of sand; and why should it be? Having ruthlessly trampled upon the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, why should she hesitate to scorn and repudiate the obligation imposed by her own specific contracts? In 1784 Virginia ceded to the general government all her territory lying north of the Ohio River, constituting what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and the northeastern part of Minnesota. In 1787 a long and very minute Ordinance for the government of this Territory was passed by Congress, in which it is ordained, "that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in said Territory, and *forever remain unalterable* unless by common consent." The sixth of these articles of compact thus solemnly adopted declares that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." In accordance with this compact, the States formed from that territory introduced the same prohibitory clause in their constitutions.

Now one would naturally suppose that this double barrier

erected by the ordinance of 1787, and by the constitutions of the States, would have settled the question forever. But not so. Slavery is not so easily quieted or disheartened. Hence in 1823 a bold and dashing attempt is made to introduce slavery into Indiana and Illinois, when the latter was but four, and the former but six years old. In Indiana, the attempt met with a most signal defeat. But not so in Illinois. She was more immediately in contact with the slave States, having Kentucky on the south, from which had come many of the settlers in her southern counties; while on the west she had that most unscrupulous of all the slave States, Missouri. Thus situated, the effort to introduce slavery into Illinois was much more violent and persistent than in Indiana. It was to be accomplished by calling a convention to alter the constitution by expunging therefrom the restrictive clause which declared there should be, "neither slavery nor involuntarily servitude." Those members of the legislature, who were in favor of calling such a convention, declared that, "the session should never close until the question had succeeded; that they would sit there the whole summer rather than be defeated." In this threat we see the spirit of slavery full grown in the hearts of these free state legislators. The question of calling such a convention is put and lost by two votes.—A few days after, another trial is made and lost by only one vote. Not to be defeated by this repeated expression of the majority, the friends of the measure have recourse to an expedient that should forever render their names a by-word and a hissing among honest men, an expedient which nothing but slavery could have suggested or adopted. Finding that they had lost the measure by one vote only, they determined to gain that vote in this wise. The seat of Mr. Hansen, a member of the House from Pike county, had been contested in the early part of the session, by Mr. Shaw from the same county. But on a full investigation of the matter, it was decided in favor of Mr. Hansen. But Mr. Hansen voted against the convention; while it was understood that Mr. Shaw was in favor of it. Consequently, after occupy-

ing the ~~se~~ ten weeks, Mr. Hanson is removed; Mr. Shaw takes his place, and the measure is carried. Such were the means used to force slavery upon Illinois in 1823. And although the attempt was not successful, it shows how congenial is the soil of some portions of that State to the production of those who are ready to lead a crusade against the most sacred compacts. No wonder therefore, that at a later period slavery looks to Illinois for a champion to lead her hosts against the compromise of 1820, which prohibited slavery in all territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. Having made her arrangements she fights and conquers. The restriction is removed. Territory enough for a score of states is thrown open, and the question of slavery or freedom is left to be decided at the ballot-box by the actual settlers. In this there is at least a chance of success left to the friends of freedom. They hasten by thousands to take up their abode in this new territory, that they may help make it free.— But this is an offence which slavery cannot forgive, and which can be atoned for only by tar, feathers, rails, bruises and blood. Her minions are collected from every pot-house and brothel on western Missouri, and full of rum, rage and riot, they pass into Kansas, elect themselves members of the Territorial Legislature, organize the same, adopt the slave code of Missouri, appoint officers for six years to come, make it a capital offence to speak, publish, or circulate anything against slavery, or adapted to incite slaves to leave their dear masters, compel their supple tools at Washington to remove Reeder because he will not acknowledge them to be the Legislature of Kansas, or sign any bills they pass; drink an extra quart and swear an extra oath in the excess of their joy that the second Governor is a man after their own hearts; then return home, fully convinced, that they are the people, and that all wisdom, virtue and patriotism will die with them.

From this political development of Slavery on the borders of Kansas and Missouri turn to its judicial manifestations, as seen in the court of Judge Kane, and the prison of his innocent vic-

time, Passmore Williamson, in Philadelphia, and tell me, if the "unjust judge" is not ten fold more the enemy of all righteousness and freedom, than the drunken hordes of Missouri. If the courts of the United States are thus irresponsible, if they may thus throw innocent citizens into prison, untried and uncondemned by any of the proper forms of law; and if the State Courts are to bow to such acts of oppression and tyranny, pray, what has become of our boasted liberties? Yet all this, and much more, will soon become matter of frequent occurrence, if slavery continues her demands in the same ratio of violence and wrong witnessed during the past few years.

If we turn now from these aspects of the subject to the church of Christ and to literature, we find there the same manifestations of violence and aggression. There was a time when southern christians and statesmen were most severe and just in their denunciations of slavery. Then it was man-stealing, a fearful sin, an outrage against humanity and religion. But alas! such is no longer their estimate of slavery. They no longer use such language themselves, nor will they suffer others to use it. They have nothing but violence and repulsion for the living, and expurgation or exclusion for the dead, who venture to testify against their heaven-daring system of cruelty, oppression and immorality. Hence slavery sunders religious denominations; silences, mobs and expels preachers of the gospel; perverts the holy teachings of the word of God; places a censor upon the Post Office and the press, and refuses to hear the truth either from the pen, or from types, or from human lips. It thus shows itself to be the great enemy of truth and righteousness, of morals and religion, of political and religious freedom. It defies Heaven and earth, for it "fears not God, nor regards man."

Such is the spirit of slavery as given by its fruits. It is evil, and only evil, continually and increasingly. It denies the plainest and most self-evident truths. It disregards the provisions of the constitution. It violates its own most solemn compacts. It lays violent hands upon the most sacred rights and privileges

of free men. It spurns all religious restraints. It mocks at the family constitution, and sets at naught the plainest principles of virtue and morality. It scores all restraint, and disdains all obligation.

Now from these facts relating to slavery, we may gain "understanding of the times." They show us the most bold and daring enemy of our republican institutions! And in view of these facts, what *ought* we to do? How ought we to treat *such* an enemy of all good? Shall we bow our necks and become its victims? Shall we meet it with bows and smiles, and patting it on the back, endeavor to coax it into an assumption of something like a decent external deportment? Shall we draw lines upon the face of our fair mother earth, and promise that if it will withdraw across those lines, we will let it alone, that we will suffer it then and there to continue its work of deep damnation upon the millions already within its grasp, and upon generations of their descendants yet unborn? Shall this, or anything like this, be the manner in which we meet this foe of God and man of virtue and freedom, of peace and happiness? No! never! We have tried all this, with no other effect than to increase the evil. Could I, therefore, compress the wrongs and righteous indignation of three times three million voices in one, I would answer, No! No! NEVER! I would have no such tampering with this vilest of the progeny of sin. It has proved itself destitute of truth and honor, and demonstrated the folly of longer showing it either fear or favor. Hence in my soul I would decree it an outlaw. Such a decree would be most righteous. It would be constitutional according to the fundamental principles of human nature, and the decisions of the Supreme Court of Heaven. Such a decree of outlawry I would write upon every fibre of my intellectual, moral and physical being, that I might never lose sight of it. Not a State—not an inch of ground composing this goodly land, should furnish it a resting place, for a moment. In respect to turpitude, I would place it far above every other form of sin known to man: and I would never con-

sent to let it alone, until it was dead and buried beyond the possibility of resurrection. There is no more reason why we should hesitate to wage such a war of extermination against slavery, anywhere and every where, than against bigamy, robbery, or murder. Indeed, slavery is worse than the three; for it includes them all, and many other forms of sin besides. It is the worst manifestation of sin that our merciful Creator has permitted in this world. It is a moral leprosy, perpetually spreading, corrupting, destroying. Let it then be banished from the habitations of all men, before our whole nation becomes remedilessly corrupt. This will slavery accomplish, if let alone. For it is a wilful destroyer. All sin and wickedness tends to propagate itself by its native contagion. But Slavery propagates itself, not only as a matter of course, but still more as a matter of choice and calculation. It takes a fiendish pleasure in extending its principles and practices. It delights in poisoning others. And it not only wrongs and corrupts the present generation, but generations to come. Its guilt has an unparalleled atrocity. It poisons the fountain, that all who drink of the stream may die. It is not therefore an evil that can be choked down and destroyed by a "masterly inactivity," or a "severe letting alone." This then is no time for supineness. The work to be done requires courage, energy, determination, and an unceasing activity. Better wake up the instruments of war, or scatter the seeds of pestilence, or invoke the wasting famine, than to corrupt our people by suffering their whole moral being to be permeated by the virus of slavery, in consequence of our lack of service. Yea, "war may stride over the land with the crushing step of a giant; pestilence may steal over it like an invisible curse, reaching its victims silently and unseen, unpeopling here a village and there a city, until every dwelling is a sepulchre; famine may brood over it with a long and weary visitation, until the sky itself is brazen, and the beautiful greenness gives place to a parched desert, a wide waste of unproductive desolation; but these are only physical evils. The wild flower will bloom in peace on the field

of battle, and above the crushed skeleton; the destroying angel of pestilence will retire when his errand is done, and the nation will again breathe freely; and, the barrenness of famine will cease at last, the cloud will be prodigal of its hoarded rain, and the wilderness will blossom. But for moral desolation, such as slavery produces there is no reviving spring, no antidote, no hope. It leaves nothing but a fearful looking for of that judgment and "fiery indignation, which never fail to come on a people corrupted and rotten." Yet this is the destiny for which slavery is fast preparing us. If let alone and suffered to accomplish its objects, it will assuredly destroy our country, and spread a pall over the hopes of the world. At its present rate of success, how long will it have to work before the moral and republican principles of our country will be abandoned? before our Representatives will bow in obsequiousness to individual dictation? before impudence, intrigue and corruption will triumph over intellect, honesty, and virtue? before our liberties and our strength will depart forever? But when these blessings are thus lost there can be no resuscitation. The abomination of desolation will then be fixed and perpetual. The mighty fabric of our glory will be in ruins; our sun will have gone down forever.

What then shall we do to avert this doom! DESTROY SLAVERY. We must do this, or it will destroy us and our country. We must gird ourselves to the battle. We must put on the whole armor, take to ourselves every weapon offensive and defensive, use all the means and influences God has placed at our disposal for the rightful performance of this duty, and then go to the work calmly but resolutely, determined never to yield the contest until the victory is won for ourselves, for our children, and for all future generations.

But as a requisite to such an effort, we must produce a correct public conscience on this subject. We must break through the political and commercial incrustations, within which multitudes secrete themselves, and pour in upon them the pure and purifying light of Heaven. We must hold them in contact with

the Bible, until they shall learn from it to hate oppression, to love mercy, to do justly, to love all men, to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; until they shall learn that political and commercial sins are no less heinous, than domestic or ecclesiastical sins; until they shall learn that the law of God reaches men in all places and in all employments, requiring their conformity to what is benevolent and right. When the public conscience can thus be made to yield only to what is right, instead of to what is convenient or selfish, then party prejudices, party names, and all demagogueism will lose their power; and the honest, liberty loving citizen, will vote for men of honesty, men of correct habits and principles, men of firmness, men who will be neither frightened, coaxed, nor hired to sacrifice one jot or tittle of the right. With such men for law makers and rulers, elected and sustained by a just public sentiment, the destruction of slavery would be sure and swift.

The process would be this: No more Slave States. No more migration of slaves from one State to another. Abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia. Repeal of the fugitive slave bill. Sustain the colored citizen in his constitutional rights in the Slave States. Stimulate and encourage free labor, both colored and white, in the cultivation of cotton, rice, sugar, and other southern products now confined to slave labor. In this way "slave property" would be rendered so unproductive that in a very few years every slaveholder would be glad to get rid of his slaves, and employ free laborers.

Now these are not wild and fanatical remedies. On the contrary they accord with the Constitution of the United States, with the claims of humanity, and with the teachings of christianity. They are therefore right; and being right, they are what we ought to do, in order to free our country from the curse of Slavery.

Nor are these remedies impracticable. They may be difficult; they may require time; yet they are in the power of the people of the free States. These sure and most speedy remedies we can

apply by discarding all our differences on other and lesser matters, and uniting on the broad and holy basis of humanity and right. Shall we do it? If we say nay, shall we not be found guilty; and will not our brother's blood be required of us?

Nor let any object to these remedies because of the time and place of their enunciation. I admit, that if we throw these statements into our crucible, and analyze them, we shall find that the elements are mostly and specifically, political; yet they are all generically moral and religious. As the evil is one that affects all these manifold interests of our people, so must the remedies partake of a like complex nature. We cannot so analyze and separate our strictly political and strictly religious duties as to feel, that while at the ballot box, or in the Senate chamber, we may act on a different moral and religious principle from that which should control our strictly religious duties. To do right—to oppose and prevent evil, to promote truth and righteousness, should be the underlying and controlling principle in all we do. And since, as free men, as republicans, we are directly responsible for our rulers and their measures, we can of course affect, control and rectify these only by the use of political means, employed according to the demands of conscience, enlightened by truth, and guided by right. Thus viewed, the question of slavery belongs to the pulpit as truly as any duty enjoined in the decalogue. Nay, more! There is no subject and no place wherein men may sin that does not belong to the pulpit. Is the mere fact that a government undertakes to legislate upon a subject, or that political parties take sides upon it, sufficient to exclude such subject from the pulpit? If so, then should any of our States and political parties undertake to legislate away our Sabbaths, our churches and our Bibles, it would be a political subject, and the pulpit must not touch it! But the truth is, if men can sin politically, then it is the duty of the preacher of all righteousness to reprove them for their political sins. If men may err from the truth through prejudice or ignorance of the principles that should control their political action, then should

the preacher instruct them in those principles, and their applications to political duties. For the law of truth must be in the preacher's mouth; no iniquity must be found in his lips; he must walk in peace and equity, and exert himself to the utmost to turn men away from all iniquity. His lips must keep divine knowledge, so that the people may seek the law at his mouth. But in communicating this law of truth, he must do it clearly, faithfully, fully. He must make no compromise with his own fears, nor with the fierce demands of political strifes and prejudices. He is the messenger of God to men; and as such he must do his duty and his whole duty. What the law requires he must utter, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. He must not suffer the trumpet to give an uncertain sound, so that political sinners, whether in low or high places, may escape. He must cry aloud and spare not. If need be, he must imitate the prophet of the Lord, as he points his finger at the king upon the throne, saying, "thou art the man." The very nature of the evil before us does therefore exhibit the appropriateness of our theme to the ends for which the day is set apart. Besides, if deliverance from threatened and threatening evils be a fit subject for thanksgiving on an occasion like this, then is this also a fit occasion to contemplate those evils, to note their bearings, their causes and their cures; and having discovered these, to show the reality of our thankfulness by forming suitable resolutions for the immediate and future application of these remedies to the evils. Should such resolutions find birth in our hearts to-day, then shall the effects of our discussion, as well as its subject matter, prove its perfect adaptation to a day of thanksgiving.

But with these views, fellow citizens, I am happy in believing you heartily accord. No apology is therefore needed for introducing such a subject on such a day. The track of thought over which we have gone, is adapted to refresh our understanding of the times, and to teach us what we ought to do. A few of these teachings have been specified, and their acceptance and

application urged. But while we devote ourselves to the employment of these human instrumentalities, let us not fail to use also, that Almighty agency, which we may secure by prayer and faith, always bearing in mind, that ~~if~~ we faithfully and perseveringly do what we can in the employment of our political, moral and religious influences, we may confidently expect the divine blessing and co-operation; and thus the plague will be stayed, and the work of healing will progress; and therein we shall find another cause of thankfulness as future years bring this appointed day.